AN

Impartial Examination

Of the Right Reverend the

Lord Biſhop of SALISBURY's, OXFORD's, LINCOLN's and NORWICH's

SPEECHES

UPON

The FIRST and SECOND Articles of Dr. *SACHEVERELL*'s Impeachment.

WHEREIN

A Very Groſs MISTAKE

Committed by My Lord of *Norwich*, is juſtly Reprehended.

Humanum eſt Errare.

LONDON,

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the GENERAL Impeachment.

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(Late Bishop of Norwich) is fully
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TO THE

RIGHT REVEREND

TH E

Ld. Bp. of Salisbury.

MY LORD,

WITH all due Deference to your Lordſhip, I muſt own that I have as freely Examin'd your *Speech*, as your Lordſhip has done the Doctrine of *Reſiſtance*, and am glad to find it laid down as an undiſputed Maxim in Religion, by your Lordſhip, 'That we ought to Repent of every Sin we have commit-" ted; and that we cannot truly Repent, unleſs we Repair and Reſtore, as far " as it is in our Power. Now, my Lord, the Reaſon of my Reciting this Paſſage, is, that I think your Lordſhip ſomewhat concern'd in the fulfilling of it; either in Retracting your former Doctrine, or what you have now advanc'd in your *Speech*: Being directly oppoſite to each other. To convince your Lordſhip of which, I ſhall proceed in the following manner:

1*ſt*, I ſhall lay before your Lordſhip the Doctrine of Obedience, as aſſerted by your Lordſhip *formerly*.

2*dly*, By Comparing your former Doctrine, with what you have now advanc'd, I ſhall leave your Lordſhip to judge whether there is not a direct Oppoſition: And if ſo,

3*dly*, I ſhall appeal to your *Lordſhip*, for the Retracting of either your Old or New Principles, which your *Lordſhip* ſhall think moſt Convenient.

In a Sermon Entituled, *Subjection for Conſcience ſake Aſſerted*; Preach'd at *Covent-Garden* Church, *December* the 6th, 1674. from *Rom.* 13. 5, (*Wherefore ye muſt needs be ſubject, not only for Wrath, but for Conſcience-ſake*) your *Lordſhip* hath advanc'd the following Doctrine, *viz.*

" That we are either bound to Obey the *Sovereign* by ſome Obligation the Law of *God* brings " on us, or we are not; If not, then all the Sacredneſs of Authority is gone, and the Prince " has nothing but force to maintain his Right, and every Uſurper that Maſters him ſhall have a " better Right, by how much more power he has to ſtrengthen his Ambitious Pretenſions. But " if we be bound by the Laws of God to Obey the Supreme Power, then theſe Laws had a " *Prior* Title to our Obedience, and infer the Duties of Subjects as a particular effect of their " Doctrine: Therefore theſe Laws having the firſt Right to our Obedience, muſt oblige us.

" Another Method by which Conſcience binds on us the ſenſe of *Duty* and *Subjection* to thoſe " ſet over us, is the Obligation to Pray for them, according to that Rubrick of Prayer, St. *Paul* " gives, *I exhort therefore that firſt of all, Supplications, Prayers, Interceſſions and giving of Thanks* " *be made for all Men, for Kings and all that are in Authority, &c.* Which whoſoever is a Chri-" ſtian muſt needs obſerve.

" Thus it appears, That Conſcience brings the ſenſe of our Duty to the Soveraign Power " nearer us, and to cloſer Conflicts with our daily Thoughts, and forceth upon us a frequent Re-" view of them. Nor is this a Blind and Brutiſh Subjection to which Conſcience ties us, but " it binds it on us with the fulleſt Evidence of Reaſon.

Your *Lordſhip* having Premis'd thus much declares, That you ſhall proceed to lay down thoſe Arguments that Conſcience and the Doctrines of Chriſtianity offer for the Subjection We muſt pay the Magiſtrate, *viz.*

" I ſhall not meddle with thoſe Reaſons that may be drawn from the Rules of Human Poli-" cy, the Nature of Societies, the Origin and Ends of Magiſtracy; but ſhall confine my Diſ-" courſe to thoſe which Natural and Reveal'd Religion do offer for obliging us to Subjection " to the higher Powers.

1. And firſt of all, " We are taught that theſe Powers are of God, that they are *the Ordi-" nance* of God; his *Deputies*, *Miniſters* and *Vicegerents*, and he himſelf hath ſaid, *They are* " *Gods*, Pſal. 82. 6. A ſtrain of Speech, that, if Divine Authority did not warrant it, would " paſs for Impudent and Blaſphemous Flattery. Tho' then the Powers that are over us be clo-" thed with our Natures, and are ſubject to like Paſſions and Infirmities with us, and live and " die like Men, yet for all that we muſt look on them as Sacred and Divine by their Character.

" *Deputed Powers* are only accountable to thoſe from whom they derive their Authority; ſo

" the

" the Higher Powers, being deputed by *God*, muſt indeed render to him a ſevere Account of " their Adminiſtration, but not to others: We are therefore *to obey them for the Lord's ſake*, " *and to be ſubject to them for Conſcience ſake*, 1 *St.* Pet. 2. 13.

This laſt *Poſtulata* laid down by your Lordſhip is moſt certainly the Doctrine of the Church of *England*, and the very ſame Doctrine for which Dr. *Sacheverell* has been Impeach'd; indeed 'tis mighty different from the New Doctrine of Reſiſtance founded upon Political Principles, which your Lordſhip has advanced in your Speech; and that your *Lordſhip* may be ſenſible of it, it will appear plaineſt by the following Examination.

If, as your Lordſhip hath declared (without any Exception in any Caſe) *the deputed Powers are Accountable to God only, from whom they derive their Authority*, where is the *Self-defence* of the People lodged; and in what Caſe is *Reſiſtance* lawful? Has not your *Lordſhip* here plainly demonſtrated the utter *Illegality* of *Reſiſtance* upon any pretence whatſoever? For, if the *Prince* be only Accountable to *God*, when are the *People* to ſit in Judgment? And therefore as your *Lordſhip* rightly obſerves, we are bound to Obey for *Conſcience ſake*, and ſhould not ſuffer any Secular Intereſt whatever ſo to blind us, as to ſhake off the Obedience enjoined in the Scripture; tho' now your *Lordſhip* is pleaſed to ſay, *This is but a Vulgar Opinion*. Indeed, *Reſiſtance* may be very Lawful in any Caſe, upon thoſe Principles laid down by that Learned and Judicious Manager Mr. *L---*, who plainly proved the Doctrine of *Reſiſtance* to be Lawful, and that the People had an *Eternal Right* to it; becauſe he had obſerved in the Courſe of his Studies, that in every Reign there were found ſome *Rebels*.

If Inſtances and Precedents, my Lord, of any People or Nation whatever, are allow'd ſufficient to invalidate the Scripture-Doctrines, then the *Ten Commandments* may be as lawfully broke as kept; for 'twould be an eaſie matter for a Man, in pleading for the Mitigation of his own Crimes, to produce innumerable Inſtances, both Foreign and Domeſtick, of others that have done the like; and from thence infer, that if the Action he committed were Sinful, ſo were thoſe of his Predeceſſors, and that He, and They, were only involv'd in the ſame Guilt; but what force can be put upon ſuch Reaſons as theſe, in weighty Matters, may eaſily be determin'd: For my part, I can ſee no greater than the Common Argument of *Reprobates*, That, as they have ſinn'd, ſo have others.

Some People think 'tis a mighty Argument to ſay, that *Self-Defence* is the firſt Law of Nature, and for that Reaſon ought to be put in Execution: Pray, my Lord, are not all *Sins* the firſt Inclinations of *Nature*, and are they for that Reaſon to be committed? I thought the *Divine Grace*, which we are adviſed to have Recourſe to by the Apoſtle, was in order to ſtem thoſe Sallies of our corrupted Natures, to which we are prone; and as it has been very judiciouſly obſerv'd by a late Eminent Hand, That as we are of our ſelves too ſubject to *do thoſe Things we ought not*, we have therefore little Reaſon to be put in mind when we may Tranſgreſs.

But now, to reſume your *Lordſhip*'s Diſcourſe, wherein you have further back'd this Doctrine by *Scripture-Proofs*, That we are not upon any occaſion whatever to Reſiſt the *Lawful Powers* ſet over us. *Viz.*

' Another Conſideration which I ſhall propoſe, by which Conſcience binds us to Subjection, ' *is the Practice and Example of our great Maſter, who was made perfect through Sufferings*, Heb. ' 2. 10. The whole Courſe of his Life was a perpetual Tract of doing Good and bearing Ill; ' he paid the Tribute when demanded, and charg'd the *Jews*, *to render to Cæſar the Things that* ' *were Cæſar's*: And when he was to lay down his Life for us, he ſubmitted himſelf patiently, ' not only to the Will of his Heavenly Father, but to the *Civil Powers*: Tho' He, as the Heir ' of all Things, might have claim'd the Empires of the World as his Right; yet ſince he hum- ' bled himſelf ſo as to be Born in the low Character of a Subject, he, in that, as in all other ' Things, became a perfect Pattern to us of all Righteouſneſs. When the accurſed Band came ' out againſt him, tho' he could have brought down Legions of Angels for his Relief, yet he not ' only ſubmitted himſelf to them, but both rejected and reprov'd St. *Peter*'s too forward Zeal, ' and told him, that *ſuch as drew the Sword ſhould periſh by the Sword*, Matth. 26. 5. And when ' the ill-guided Fervour of that Great Apoſtle, had miſled him to the exceſs of ſmiting with his ' Sword, our Saviour expreſs'd his Diſpleaſure at it, by his miraculous piecing the Ear again ' with the maimed Head. And when he was accus'd to *Pilate* of being an Enemy to *Cæſar*, ' and pretending to ſet up another Kingdom, he did, in the plaineſt Stile was poſſible, con- ' demn all practiſings againſt Government upon pretence of Religion, by ſaying, *John* 18. 36. ' *My Kingdom is not of this World*; *if my Kingdom were of this World, then would my Servants* ' *fight*, that I ſhould not be deliver'd to the *Jews*; but now is my Kingdom not from hence: ' This doth ſo expreſly diſcharge all buſtling and fighting on the pretence of Religion, that we ' muſt either ſet up for another Goſpel, or utterly reject what is formally condemn'd by the Au- ' thor of this we profeſs to believe.

But to ſtop a little here, my Lord, Has any one that ever maintain'd the Doctrine of *Paſſive Obedience* and *Non Reſiſtance*, run it farther than your Lordſhip in this Place? You have not only enforc'd the Inſtance of *Peter*'s Caſe, but likewiſe ſhewn that the whole Tenour of our Saviour's Doctrine was directly oppoſite to Reſiſtance: And at laſt your Lordſhip concludes, That whoſoever will pretend to vindicate reſiſting the Supreme Powers, *muſt either ſet up a new Goſpel, or renounce that of Jeſus Chriſt*. Pardon, my Lord, ſince the Caſe requires it, the Application of our Saviour's Parable to your Lordſhip, *viz. No Man can ſerve two Maſters*, &c, to illuſtrate which, my Lord, I ſhall uſe no falſe Gloſſes, Quibbles, or Innendo's; what I produce are your Lordſhip's own Words, entire *Paragraphs*, without any *Addition*: So that your *Lordſhip* muſt either Renounce this Doctrine, or that New *Political Scheme* laid down in your Speech; for, my Lord, the Scriptures ſuffer no Alteration, whatever Kingdoms and States do, but are the ſame as *Yeſterday*, *to Day*, and *for ever*; and ſince your Lordſhip has declar'd, that *you have examined this Matter long and carefully*, pray, my *Lord*, let us know whether this laſt

Doctrine

Doctrine is what your Lordſhip intends to ſtick to? The Clergy ought moſt certainly to be the Guide of the Laity; and what can we think, my *Lord*, when we read of a Doctrine maintain'd by *Scripture* in one Reign, and the ſame decry'd in another, only indeed with this Difference, that as the *Scripture* was before allow'd a ſufficient Witneſs in the Caſe, 'tis now laid aſide as altogether uſeleſs?

To purſue your Lordſhip yet further in your own Words.

'If we examine the Nature and Deſign of that Holy Religion our Saviour delivered, we 'ſhall find nothing more Diametrically oppoſite to all its Rules, than the diſtempered Fury of 'thoſe miſguided Zealots, who being carried on by the fierceneſs of their ungoverned Paſſions, 'have, upon Colours of Religion, filled the World with Blood and Confuſion. Otherwiſe did 'St. *Paul* Teach the *Romans*, when Groaning under the ſevereſt Rigours of Bondage and Tyran-'ny; and St. *Peter* doth at full length, once and again, call on all Chriſtians to prepare for Suf-'ferings, and to bear them patiently; and though the Bondage of the Slaves was heavy, and 'highly contrary to all the Freedoms of Human Nature, yet he Exhorts them to bear the Seve-'rities, (though they could have Reſiſted) *even of their froward and unjuſt Maſters*, with this 'Argument, *That Chriſt ſuffered for them, leaving them an Example, that they ſhould follow his 'Steps*. From theſe unerring Practices and Precepts muſt all true Chriſtians take the Meaſure of 'their Actions, and the Rule of their Life.

'And indeed the firſt Converts to Chriſtianity embraced the Croſs, and bore it not only with 'Patience, but Joy; and as long as Chriſtianity continued Pure and Unallayed, this Doctrine 'of Patient Suffering was not only a big and empty boaſt, but gave Proofs of its Reality, by 'the unexampled Patience and Sufferings of the Chriſtians, in a Succeſſion of Three Ages and 'Ten Perſecutions. Theſe bleſſed Witneſſes of our Faith were Burning and Shining Lights, 'as well by the Purity of their Lives, as by the Stakes and Flames of their Martyrdom: *Nero* 'Impal'd them, and Cloathing them with Pitch-coats, made them burn as Torches in the 'Night; but theſe Fires ſcattered the Darkneſs of that Night of Idolatry in which *Rome* lay Bu-'ried, and both enlightned and enflamed many that lay freezing in Darkneſs. It was the Aſto-'niſhment of the World, to ſee ſuch Numbers of all Ages, Sexes, and Qualities, with that 'Alacrity and Cheerfulneſs of Submiſſion, to offer up their Lives for the Faith; and neither 'the Cruelty of their unrelenting Perſecutors, nor the continued Tract of their Miſeries, which 'did not end but with their Days, prevail on them either to Renounce the *Faith*, or do that 'which is next Degree to it, throw off the Croſs, and betake themſelves to Seditious Practices 'for their Preſervation, but continued ſtedfaſt both in their Faith and Patience; by which they 'inherited the Promiſes.

Now for what Reaſon, my Lord, you are pleaſed to deprive the Primitive Chriſtians of this Character by the following Paragraph in your *Speech*, no one can account for but your *Lordſhip*.

Your Lordſhip ſays in the 3d Page, *The Primitive Chriſtians had no Laws in their Favour, but many againſt them: So their patient Suffering ſo many Perſecutions, according to the Laws of the Empire, under which they lived, was to conform to the Doctrine laid down by the Apoſtles. When they came afterwards to have the Protection of Laws, they claimed the Benefit of them, not without great Violence, when they thought an Infraction was made on thoſe Laws; which broke out into great Tumults, in many of the chief Cities of the Empire, not excepting the Imperial City it ſelf.*

What becomes then of the Character your *Lordſhip* has before given them? or, why ſhould theſe People be called the *Bleſſed Witneſſes of our Faith*, whoſe Zeal was only limited till they could procure a Force to Rebel? Where was their Conformity to the Example of their Bleſſed Lord and Maſter, in patiently ſuffering the Afflictions laid upon them, if contrary to his Command (as your Lordſhip affirms) they took up the Arms of Violence in a tumultuous Manner? No, my *Lord*, this Character I defie your Lordſhip to prove; and yet, at the ſame time, I don't deny but there were thoſe Tumults your *Lordſhip* has mentioned; permit me, my *Lord*, to have read a little *Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory* as well as your *Lordſhip*, though far be it from me ever to caſt ſuch an Aſperſion upon that Bleſſed Army of Martyrs, whom our Church teaches us to Implore the Divine Aſſiſtance for the following their Examples as they followed *Chriſt's*, which muſt be *falſe*, if your *Lordſhip's Aſſertion* be *true*. Becauſe there were ſome that could not bear the Tryal of their Faith, will your *Lordſhip* therefore cenſure all? Certainly it muſt be allowed, that in all Perſecutions there were ſome that wavered. Your *Lordſhip* would infer, that none of them would have ſuffered had they had a Power to *Reſiſt*; Where then is the Virtue, if they had ſuch Thoughts? Or what Conformity was it to ſuffer that, which if they had had it in their Power they would have prevented? If theſe are now your *Lordſhip's* Thoughts of the *Primitive Chriſtians*, you have plainly evidenced that the *Human* are preferrable to the *Divine Laws*; and that no *Religion* will ever have your *Lordſhip* in the Liſt of its *Martyrs*. Never, never, my *Lord*, can this be attoned for, but by an hearty Sorrow, and earneſt Supplication to Almighty God for the Pardon of this *Aſſertion*.

I ſhall now ſhow your Lordſhip, that, in purſuance of your former Character of the *Primitive Chriſtians*, you have in expreſs Words contradicted what is aſſerted in your Speech, when in continuance of what has been before recited, you thus proceed,

'Nor was Chriſtianity endamag'd by all that Fury; on the contrary, the Blood of the Mar-
'tyrs was the Seed of the Church, whoſe Field being thus farmed, did Spring up Thirty, Six ty,
'and a Hundred Fold; ſo that for every new Harveſt of a Perſecution, there was a Plentiful Crop of
'Chriſtians. And there is no Reaſon to think thoſe Bleſſed Martyrs, endur'd all their Sufferings,
'conſtrain'd by Neceſſity, becauſe they could do no other; for as we find in the Inſpir'd Hiſtory,
'that at Two Sermons there were Eight Thouſand Converts; ſo Profane, as well as Eccleſiaſtical
'Writers aſſure us, The Numbers of the Chriſtians, became very ſoon ſo faſt, that nothing but
'the Conſcience of the Duty they owed the Supream Power, oblig'd them to be Subject. *Pliny*,
'who liv'd a Hundred years after our Saviour, wrote to *Trajan*, lib. 10. Epiſt. 97. *That in* Pontus
'*and* Bithynia, *there were great Numbers of Chriſtians of all Ranks, both in Cities and Villages; ſo*
'*that the Temples of their Gods, were, by the prevailing Growth of Chriſtianity, left Deſolate.* A
'little after him, *Marcus Aurelius* had a Legion of Chriſtians in his Army, of whom he gave
'this Character: *That they carried God in their Conſciences*; and *Tertullian* in his Apology, *ad*
'*Scap. ch.* 2. pleading for thoſe in his Days, tells the *Romans*, ch. 37. *That if they would ſtand to*
'*their own Defence, they wanted not the ſtrength of Numbers and Armies*; *That neither the* Moors
'*nor* Parthians, *nor any other of the Nations that fought with the* Romans, *could match them, who*
'*filled the whole World*; *all their Places, Towns, Iſlands, Caſtles, Villages, Councils, Camps, Tribes,*
'*Senate and Market-Places, only they abandon'd their Temples to them*; adding, *That to what War*
'*were they not both fit and ready, even tho' they were leſs Numerous*; *Who were Butcher'd ſo willingly,*
'*if their Diſcipline did not allow them rather to be Kill'd than to Kill?* And further adds, *That*
'*none of them were ever found Guilty of Conſpiracies againſt the Emperors, whom they acknowledg'd*
'*to be ſet up by God, and therefore judg'd themſelves bound to Love, Reverence, and Honour them.*
'But as the Chriſtian Religion continued to ſpread by a vaſt and prodigious Increaſe, ſo did the
'ſpite of the Infernal Furies grow fierce againſt it by the ſame Proportion; and in the laſt Per-
'ſecution, which continued about Twenty years, we find the Martyrs in *Egypt* reckoned to be be-
'twixt 8 and 900000; and yet no Tumults were rais'd againſt all this Tyranny and Injuſtice:
'And tho' after that the Emperors turn'd Chriſtians, and Eſtabliſh'd the Faith by Law: yet neither
'did the ſubtile Attempts of *Julian* the Apoſtate, nor the open Perſecution of ſome *Arrian* Empe-
'rors, who did with great Violence proſecute the Orthodox, occaſion any ſeditious Combinations
'againſt Authority. Theſe are the great Precedents this Holy Doctrine of the Croſs hath in the
'firſt and pureſt Ages; and tho' Religion ſuffered great decays in the ſucceſſion of many Ages,
'yet for the firſt Ten Centuries no Father or Doctor of the Church, nor any Aſſembly of Church-
'men, did ever Teach, Maintain or Juſtify any Rebellious or Seditious Doctrines or Practices.

This, my Lord, I hope you will allow in your own Words, to be Diametrically oppoſite to the Doctrine advanced in your Speech in Relation to the Behaviour of the *Primitive Chriſtians*. But to proceed to your Lordſhip's laſt Head of Enforcing the Doctrine of Non-Reſiſtance, wherein you come to prove the Doctrine of your Text, *That we are bound to obey, not only for wrath, but for conſcience-ſake.*

And thus I have made good what I undertook to evince, "That Conſcience doth with the
'greateſt Evidence of Reaſon and Authority, bind us to an abſolute Subjection to the Higher
'Powers. But after all this, it may be perhaps objected, That all Chriſtians, at leaſt all Preten-
'ders to it, have not follow'd the ſame Rule, and that ſome Diviſions of Chriſtendom, which in
'all other things run very wide from one another, yet meet in the Doctrine of reſiſting the Su-
'preme Authority; and not only ſo, but they vouch Religion for their Warrant and Quarrel,
'and pretend a Zeal for *God*'s Church and Cauſe in all they do; but I ſhall handle this Matter
'with the Round Plainneſs that ſuch a Point, how tender ſoever ſome may think it, requires.
'It is true, about the end of the Eleventh Century this Peſtiferous Doctrine took its Riſe, and
'was firſt Broach'd and Vented by Pope *Gregory* the 7th, or *Hildebrand* the firſt Pope of that
'Name, tho' a far better Man, had baſely and ſhamefully courted the cruel and perfidious *Phocas*,
'and treated him in a ſtile of mean and ſordid Flattery, that misbecame any Man, much more
'ſo great a Biſhop. But the Pope I now ſpeak of, went more briskly to work, and begun that
'inſolent and bold Pretenſion of the Temporal Power of the Popes over all Kings and Princes,
'that they being Chriſt's Vicars on Earth, muſt have all Power in Heaven and Earth deputed to
'them, and as St. *Peter*'s Succeſſors, had both the Spiritual and Temporal Swords put into their
'Hands. Upon this he grew mighty aſpiring and exalted himſelf; nor did it end here, for thoſe
'that knew his Life will ſee what diſmal Confuſions he brought on *Germany* and *Italy*, and laid
'the Foundations of thoſe enſuing bloody Wars which continued for ſome Ages. Then did
'the Factions of the *Guelphs* and *Gibellins* divide Nations, Towns and Families, and fill all
'Places with Blood and Confuſion. 'Tis well known to thoſe that are acquainted with Hiſto-
'ry how theſe Pretenſions were carried on by the ſucceeding Popes, and for two or three Ages
'this Tyranny was ſo heavily exercis'd, that any Inſolent Church-man was able to diſturb Go-
'vernment by complaining to *Rome* of ſome pretended Incroachments on the Eccleſiaſtical Im-
'munity; upon which Monitory Breves and Bulls were diſpatch'd, and every Prince was
'either to obey theſe, (how Prejudicial ſoever to his Government) or look for the Thunders of
Excommunication,

'Excommunication, Depoſition, or have his Subjects abſolv'd from their Oaths of Fidelity, 'and his Dominions transferr'd to ſome other more zealous Votary. These Tyrannies were not 'only Practis'd but Founded on the Rights of the See of *Rome*, and in the Stile of an Univer-'ſal Paſtor impos'd this Belief on the World.

Your Lordſhip having now ſhown us the Original of that Peſtiferous Doctrine of Reſiſting the Supreme Powers, entirely agreeable to Dr. *Sacheverell's* Account that it was firſt broach'd by the *Romaniſts*, your Lordſhip proceeds now in the Laſt Place to prove the miſchievous Conſequences of this Doctrine, and how readily it was embraced by the Fanaticks here.

'Now the ſame Equality of Juſtice and Freedom that obliged me to lay open theſe Practices 'of the *Romaniſts*, ties me to the Diſcovery of thoſe who pretend a great Heat againſt *Rome*, 'and value themſelves upon abhorring all their Doctrines and Practices, and yet have carried 'along with 'em one of their moſt Peſtiferous Opinions, Pretending Reformation when they 'would bring all under Confuſion; and vouching the Cauſe and Work of God, when they 'were deſtroying and oppoſing that Authority he had ſet up: And the more Piety and Devotion 'ſuch Daring Pretenders put on, it ſtill brings the greater Stain and Imputation on Religion, as 'if it Patroniz'd thoſe Practiſes it ſo plainly Condemns. This is *Judas*-like to Kiſs our Maſter 'when we betray him, and to own a Zeal for Religion when we engage in Courſes that Diſ-'grace and Deſtroy it.

Is this laſt Paragraph, my Lord, any more than drawing the Character of ſuch falſe Brethren as Dr. *Sacheverel* deſcribes in his Sermon? 'Tis as exact, as if he had Conſulted your Diſcourſe; and I can't but believe your Lordſhip's Sermon was before him when he was Compoſing his own. But to proceed to your Lordſhip's Concluſion,

'Bleſſed be God, our Church Hates and Condemns this Doctrine, from what hand ſoever it 'come, and hath Eſtabliſh'd the Rights and Authority of Princes on ſure and unalterable Foun-'dations, enjoyning an entire Obedience and an abſolute Submiſſion to that Supreme Power 'God hath put in our Sovereign's Hands. This Doctrine we juſtly Glory in, and if any that 'had their Baptiſm and Education in our Church have turned Renegado's from this, they prov-'ed no leſs Enemies to the Church her ſelf, than to the Civil Authority.

Such was your Lordſhip's Opinion in the Year 1674, and I ſhall now in an Exact Examination of your Lordſhip's Speech, plainly demonſtrate the new Scheme therein laid down to be Diametrically oppoſite to this Doctrine, and leave your Lordſhip and the whole World to be Judges in this Caſe.

My Lord, Before I enter upon your Speech, I think it not amiſs to aſſure you that I am a hearty well wiſher to the *Revolution*, and without any more a-do ſhall always pronounce thoſe that are not, to be the Worſt Enemies to Her Majeſty and Government; but on the other hand, my Lord, I think 'tis running the point too far, to tell her Majeſty that *She has taken up the Banner of Reſiſtance*, and enjoys the *Throne* upon the Principles of *Rebellion*, as if ſhe had no other Right; certainly, My Lord, Her Moſt Gracious Majeſty has all that Divine Right your Lordſhip has been ſo long contending for in your Sermon, and wears the Crown by the Hereditary Title of her Anceſtors: Which that ſhe may long, enjoy in a Proſperous Tranquility, is my ſincere Wiſh.

Farther, my Lord, when our Religion, Laws and Liberties were Invaded, the Inviting of the Prince of *Orange* hither, was then told us as deſign'd to Redreſs our Grievances, which had the happy Effect propos'd; but at this ſame time when this matter was Debated it was not Voted a Rebellion, but a *Vacating* or *Abdicating* the Throne by King *James*; and to perſwade the People that it was ſo, Records were ſearch'd, and Hiſtory quoted to prove the Lawfulneſs of our ſupplying a Vacant Throne, but not for the Vindicating of Reſiſtance; and that for aſſerting King *William* a Conqueror, your Lordſhips Writings underwent the *Fiery Tryal*. Therefore what Reaſon we have to ſay at this Time of Day that we Turned him away, Reſiſted him and proved Rebels, I can't account for, I am much more inclin'd to believe it as it was then *Debated*, and allow'd to be, a *Vacating* of the Throne, and 'tis upon theſe Principles, my Lord, that we may ſtill avow the utter Illegality of Reſiſting the Supreme Powers.

In the firſt Place, my Lord, I cannot agree with your Lordſhip, that the Doctor's Counſel yielded to the Lawfulneſs of *Reſiſtance*; indeed Sir *Simon Harcourt* once put it, that upon ſuppoſition in Caſes of Imminent Danger Reſiſtance might be allow'd, tho' the Priſoner had aſſerted the utter Illegality of it upon any pretence whatſoever, and that he preſum'd the Priſoner was no more Culpable for ſuch an Aſſertion, than thoſe many other Divines who had maintain'd the ſaid Doctrine, and Receiv'd the Thanks of both Houſes of Parliament for the ſame: This, my Lord, was ſo far from yielding to the Doctrine of Reſiſtance, that the Suppoſition was only brought to enforce the Argument of his Plea in the Priſoner's behalf.

Your

Your Lordſhip proceeds next to give an Account of the Doctrine of our Church concerning Reſiſtance or Self-Defence, where after giving us a Sketch of the ſame Hiſtory, as recited in your Sermon, in ſhewing that Doctrine had its Original from the Papal See; but when the Reformation came to ſome Maturity, this Doctrine was every where oppoſed, and the *Divine Right of Princes having their Power from God aſſerted in the Room of it*; but then your Lordſhip ſays, the Reformers did not mean that Kings had any *Diſtinct Authority beſides the Law of the Land.* This, my Lord, to me is an Irreconcilable Contradiction in it ſelf, as well as to what has been advanc'd by your Lordſhip in your Sermon, where you ſay, *That ye are either bound to obey the Sovereign by ſome Obligation the Law of God brings on us, or not; if not, then all the Sacredneſs of Authority is gone, and the Prince has nothing but Force to maintain his Right, and every Uſurper that Maſters him ſhall have a better Right, by how much more Power he has to ſtrengthen his Ambitious Pretentions:* So that this muſt be the Caſe, if the Reformers meant as your Lordſhip would have them; and inſtead of being ſuch an oppoſite Doctrine to that of of *Rome*, as your Lordſhip repreſents it to be, I can ſee no more in it than that *'tis out of the Frying-pan into the Fire.* 'Tis the Power and Prerogative, my *Lord*, that I contend for: If Princes muſt be accountable to any Earthly Power, I think there's little odds in it, whether it be to a *Romiſh* or a *Calviniſtical Power*; for tho' by the Tenets of the Church of *Rome* 'tis maintained, That all Princes derive their Authority from the Pontifical Chair, as being Chriſt's Vicars here on Earth, yet I would oppoſe this, even to the Face of a Pope himſelf, and plainly ſhow him, that the Scripture does not only mean *Kings*, but all *Supreme Powers*, ſet over any People according to the Conſtitution of their Country, are accountable only to God, from whom they derive their Authority.

Having already accounted for what your Lordſhip ſays of the Behaviour of the Primitive Chriſtians, I come now to examine that Inſtance your Lordſhip brings of the *Jews* ſhaking off the *Syrian* Yoke. My Lord, *Joſephus* has fully ſatisfied me that the *Syrians* were not the lawful Governours of the *Jews*, and for that Reaſon, the Reſiſtance was no more than oppoſing a Foreign Enemy, tho' your Lordſhip ſays, *It were eaſie to ſhew that the* Jews *had been firſt ſubject to the* Babylonian, *then to the* Perſian *and* Grecian *Empire; and at laſt to the Kings of* Syria: 'Twere as eaſie to ſhew, my Lord, that ſome of the Kings of *France* have been ſubject to our Kings of *England*: But that Man would have had a very difficult Task, that ſhould have endeavour'd to convince a *French-man* that the King of *England* was his lawful Sovereign. Conqueſt, my Lord, mightily alters the Caſe; and the *Jews* ſhaking off the *Syrian* Yoke is widely different from Reſiſting their lawful Governours. But I can't ſee why your Lordſhip ſhould be in ſo great a Paſſion with the *Apochryphal Writings*, as to have them tore out of our *Bibles*, tho' there's no mighty matter to be learnt indeed, in being inform'd that *when* Tobit *went out, his Dog followed him; and when he ſlept under the Wall, the Birds muted in his Eyes*; yet for all that, the Books of *Eccleſiaſticus* are fit to be Read for Example, and the Story of *Suſannah* is very Inſtructive.

The next Step your Lordſhip makes, is to conſider the *Homilies*, in the Second Book of which are thoſe againſt *Wilful Rebellion*, ſaid to be compos'd by Biſhop *Jewell*, whom your Lordſhip grants, *was by much the beſt Writer in that Time, and underſtood the meaning of them well*, otherwiſe that good Biſhop could never merit ſuch a Character from your Lordſhip; for he muſt be but a very indifferent Author, that does not underſtand the meaning of what he writes: But to prove that Biſhop *Jewell* was for *Reſiſtance*, your Lordſhip cites theſe Words from his *Apology*, &c. *viz. The Nobles of* Scotland *neither drew the Sword, nor attempted War againſt the Prince: They ſought only the Continuance of God's undoubted Truths, and the Defence of their own Lives, againſt barbarous and cruel Invaſions.* The former part of this Sentence, my Lord, I take to be expreſs for the Doctrine of Obedience; and as for the *Preſervation of their Religion and Lives*, 'twas ſo far from unlawful Reſiſtance, that 'tis directly enjoyn'd in the Goſpel: *If they perſecute in one City, flee to another*, &c. Your *Lordſhip* farther adds, *That this Paſſage ſhows that he looked on Rebellion to be a Violent Riſing againſt a Prince.* Who, my *Lord*, can give it any other Definition? Such no doubt were thoſe againſt King *Henry* the 8th, King *Edward*, and Queen *Elizabeth.* Your *Lordſhip* next proceeds to Examin the Paſſages cited by the Priſoner out of the *Homilies*, but how far they did, or did not make for his Purpoſe, I ſhall not enquire; yet cannot conclude this Paragraph without taking notice of your *Lordſhip's* Obſervation *By the By*, That the Word *Wilful*, in the Title of the Prayers againſt *Rebellion*, was not put in for *Nothing*, in which I am clearly of your *Lordſhip's* mind; for I take it to be a very ſignificant *Engliſh* Word of two Syllables, for which Reaſon it was incerted by the *Biſhop*, the more fully to expreſs his own Meaning, which your Lordſhip has before acknowledged he perfectly underſtood.

I now come to attend your *Lordſhip* thro' Queen *Elizabeth's* Long and Glorious Reign, to ſee what was the conſtant Maxim of that Time.

I ſhall begin with your *Lordſhip's* firſt Inſtance in Relation to the Difference, between the Queen Regent and the Nobles of *Scotland*; but 'tis obſervable that your *Lordſhip* makes no allowances in Point of *Political Intereſts*, and makes the Allegiance of a Subject to his Prince,

and

and that of one Crown'd Head to another, the same: Tho' the Queen Regent broke her Promise, the Nobles ought not to have Rebell'd; but on the other hand, 'twas as Lawful, according to the *Jus Gentium*, for Queen *Elizabeth* to assist the Nobles, as it was for the *French* Kings to Defend the Queen Regent; and I am very well satisfied that Queen *Elizabeth* might with great satisfaction Reflect upon that Interposition, without putting your Lordship to the trouble of producing the *Manifesto* you mention.

As to the often repeated Quarrels in *France* from *Charles* the 9th, to *Henry* the 4th's Time which were a continual Series of Rebellion, and tho' Queen *Elizabeth* in all that Time assisted them with Men and Money, she was not at all concern'd in those Rebellions, not being any ways subject to the Crown of *France*; but as we have an old Proverb, *That none are so blind as them which won't see*, so your Lordship is sensible there is a great deal of difference between the Allegiance of a Subject to his Prince, and that of one Crown'd Head to another.

To pass over your Lordship's next piece of History, relating to the *Netherlanders* shaking off the *Spanish* Yoke, which your Lordship owns *became intollerably Severe and Cruel to 'em*; and without putting your Lordship to the Trouble of producing your *Old Manifesto* which you are so fond of mentioning, I believe any one will allow that Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reasons were sufficient to Justifie her assisting them in this Case.

Not to Disturb your Lordship's Instructive Relation of King *James*'s Affairs, in which, according to your Lordship's usual good Fortune, of seeing deeper into the *Arcana*'s of State than any one else, I desire to be Inform'd what Authority pass'd this Determination, *That when a Usurper is once possess'd of a Crown, he shall be owned a Lawful Sovereign*: This is carrying the matter much farther than *Oliver Cromwell* did; for he often acknowledg'd the *King*'s Authority so far, as to Drink a Health to his Landlord.

Your Lordship next comes to shew *what the sence of our best Divines were in this matter*; to illustrate which, Dr. *Bedell* is mention'd as the Top Man, (but by, the by, my Lord, I suppose 'tis because your Lordship wrote his Life) and your Lordship proceeds to Read some of his Words on this Subject, *Viz. Do you think Subjects are bound to give their Throats to be cut by their Prince at his mere Will?* This Position, I believe, will hardly be inserted in any one's Creed; but on the other hand, when this famous Doctor, has by the old Thread-bare Argument of the Law of Nature, urg'd all manner of unlawful Rebellions, Do you think, my Lord, (to Reverse the Doctor's strong Position) That Subjects may cut their Princes *Throats*, and Justifie it, by the Law of Nature?

As to *Grotius*'s Book, *De Jure Belli ac Pacis*, there needs not any thing to be said, by Reason most Men that are acquainted with it are sensible how far his Principles would carry him, in asserting Regal Power; and as to King *Charles*'s assisting the *French* Protestants, 'tis only another Instance of the same sort, of what your Lordship has before related, and in which all agree, that according to the *Jus Gentium*, and Compacts agreed to by Treatises of Peace, &c. It is very Lawful for Different States to assist each other; for your Lordship has own'd, that the Grounds, upon which Queen *Elizabeth* aided the *Netherlanders* was, *That there had been an Ancient League, not only between the Crown of* England *and the Princes of the* Netherlands, *but between the Subjects of both Countries, under their Seals Interchangeably for all Friendly Offices*, Which no doubt was a sufficient Reason, and as your Lordship observes, would be equally as strong were it Revers'd on any other side whatever: But all these Instances are no proofs at all of the Lawfulness of Domestick Resistance, by any Peoples taking up Arms against their Lawful Prince; so far I agree with your Lordship, that you prov'd beyond Contradiction that you have Read some of the *Histories of those Times*, but that's all: And the Doctrine of the Church most certainly remains as before.

Dr. *Manwaring*'s Case is strangely Represented by your Lordship, as tho' he was Impeached for barely asserting the Authority of the Prince, and the Allegiance of the Subject; when on the other hand your Lordship very well knows that the Articles of his Impeachment ran, *for having aspers'd the Ministry, using unbecoming Expressions, and for Denouncing Damnation upon the People if they did not yield to the Ship-Money and the other Illegalities complained off in those Times.*

Your *Lordship* being now come to the Time of the Civil Wars, observes in the first Place, *That the lately Condemned Doctrine of Passive Obedience came again in Vogue*, out of which your *Lordship* would have it, sprung all the Miseries of those Days: No, my Lord, 'twas from another Fountain these Misfortunes arose, from a Factious, Rebellious and Head-strong People, who by a Total Degeneracy from the Church and all Regular Discipline, had divided themselves into so many different Denominations, each claiming to themselves a separate Power, that soon brought all Things into Anarchy and Confusion, and then aided by the false *Sects*, who were never sincerely true to any Prince of their own, or obedient to any Regular Discipline either in Church or State, as the Learned Bp. *Spotswood* has plainly proved.

Your *Lordſhip's* ſecond Obſervation is, That this War was not founded on the Principle of Self-Defence, tho' all the Writers of that Time againſt the King, urged no other Argument in their behalf; which may eaſily be ſeen by having Recourſe to *Milton*, *Harrington*, *Goodwin*, or any others; and tho' your *Lordſhip* might have the opportunity of Conſulting ſome private Papers, I can hardly believe your *Lordſhip* ſaw deeper than all Mankind, which you would really perſuade us you did.

In the Third place your *Lordſhip* owns this a *Rebellion*, which I cannot ſee how your *Lordſhip* will eaſily Reconcile, to what your have before advanced, for all the Inſtances cited by your Lordſhip have been to endeavour to prove that *Reſiſtance* is no *Rebellion*: And here your *Lordſhip* Grants the *Affirmative*; and it cannot be denied but that this Faction complained of all thoſe hardſhips which your *Lordſhip* before allowed would make *Reſiſtance* or *Rebellion* (which is all one) Lawful. As to the other Paſſages mention'd by your *Lordſhip*, I ſhall paſs over as not being any way Material to the Queſtion in Debate, and I preſume only inſerted to make your *Lordſhip's* Speech appear the more *Hiſtorical*.

In the next Place your *Lordſhip* makes it no wonder, 'That the Doctrine of *Non-Reſiſtance* 'ſhould be Preached after ſuch a War, and that this matter was kept in View both by Dr. *Falkener* and your *Lordſhip* who ſoon found the ill effects, that the carrying this Doctrine ſo far, 'had on the Mind of King *James*; for the proof which your *Lordſhip* tells us, "That in the 'Year 1673. when you were admitted into a free Converſation with King *James*, your Lord-'ſhip was pleaſed to tell him, That upon Account of his Religion it was impoſſible for him to 'Reign quietly in this Nation. Upon which the King replied, does not the Church of *England* 'maintain the Doctrine of *Non-Reſiſtance* and *Paſſive-Obedience*? Upon which your Lordſhip 'adviſed him not to Depend, for that there was was *a Diſtinction* in the matter, that would be 'found out when Men thought they needed it.

After ſuch a free Conference with King *James* (which has always been a peculiar happineſs to your Lordſhip, not only to be admitted into the utmoſt familiarity, and let into the Greateſt *Arcana's* of State, but even to become the Fortune-teller of Princes) and ſuch a due ſenſe of the Miſchievous Conſequences that would attend the Preaching up the Doctrine of *Non-Reſiſtance*, &c. How came your Lordſhip in the Year 1674. to preach up this Doctrine in Terms of the greateſt Force, and without any exception of that Diſtinction which your Lordſhip has mentioned, would be made uſe of when there was occaſion; but of this piece of Policy your Lordſhip does not think fit to give any Account, tho' I don't queſtion but your Lordſhip had ſome potent Reaſons for this Performance, and that it was to ſerve ſome great End which will be known one time or other.

Having gone through all thoſe parts of your Lordſhip's Speech that relate to the Doctrine of Reſiſtance, I come now with your Lordſhip to Examine ſome particulars relating to the *Revolution*. The firſt thing, my Lord, you are pleaſed to take notice of, is the Pompous *Oxford* Decree as you ſtile it, in the Year 1683. which your Lordſhip would have us obſerve how long they ſtood to; and in proceeding to give an Account of the very great ſhare you had in that Important turn of Affairs, hardly admitting any one elſe a part, nothing being tranſacted without your Lordſhip's Advice and Direction, and that your Lordſhip *ſtood to your Ground*, (forgetting the Year 1674. and what your Lordſhip was now ſpeaking of) during this Intercourſe of Affairs your Lordſhip reckons the *Oxford* Men broke in upon their *Decree*, by inviting the Prince to their Univerſity, and that the Lawfulneſs of an Uſurper's Title came preſently in Vogue among them, your Lordſhip interpreting the meaning of a *De facto* Prince to be no other.

As to the former part of this Aſſertion, my Lord, they might give the Prince and Invitation, and yet not in the leaſt break in upon their *Decree*, which was only a Condemnation of all *Heterodox*, and *Republican Principles*, that did not in the leaſt interfere with the Turn then in agitation: for no doubt they believed it an *Abdication*, and not a *Rebellion*; and as to your Lordſhip's laſt Obſervation, I can hardly be perſuaded to think that ſuch an Opinion could ever be in *vogue* among 'em for ſound Doctrine.

Your Lordſhip's behaviour to the Abjuration Oath is no doubt highly to be commended, as likewiſe in taking Notice of thoſe Seditious Pamphlets and publick Papers which I agree with your Lordſhip, 'tend to carry on the wicked Deſign of diſtracting the Church and Undermining the Government; and as the *Rehearſal* has been very prudently ſuppreſſed, ſo will I hope thoſe other Inſolent and Factious Scriblers, the *Review* and *Obſervator*; the former of which my Lord, no other Puniſhment but *Haman's* will prevail upon, a Pillory and Fine is of no effect, he ſtill continues more Impudent than ever, giving Inſtructions to both Houſes of Parliament, and at once claims the entire Protection of all *Scotland*, when I dare believe not one Noble-man of that Nation will give him the leaſt Countenance.

Your Lordſhip next obſerves, That while theſe Pamphlets and ill Reports were thus ſet about, 'Mr. *Hoadly* thought that it became him to aſſert the Queen's Title, by Juſtifying the *Re-* 'volution, out of which it ariſes; I ſhall not in the leaſt touch upon Mr. *Hoadly's* Controverſy, but admire your Lordſhip ſhould aſſert that her Majeſty's Title ariſes out of the *Revolution*.

Certainly,

Certainly, my Lord, you will own that the Riſe of Her Majeſty's Title muſt be from the Hereditary Right of Her Anceſtors; and the moſt that can be ſaid of the *Revolution* is, that it ſtrengthens that Title; and it ſhall be my hearty Prayers, 'That Almighty God will be pleaſed 'to ſtrengthen Her Arms; that She may Vanquiſh and Overcome all Her Enemies, both at 'Home and Abroad, and long continue in a profound and laſting Peace, a Nurſing Mother to 'this Church and Kingdom.

Laſtly, Your Lordſhip apprehends ill Conſequences from ſome Clergy-men's preaching Hot Sermons, as your Lordſhip terms them: Indeed, my Lord, Heat without Judgment is not commendable; nor will any one pretend to Vindicate *reflecting* and *unguarded* Expreſſions; but a Man's Zeal ſometimes may carry him a little farther than his firſt Thoughts, when he hears in publick Coffee-Houſes the Clergy villanously Traduced, the Miniſtry Reflected upon, and the Fanaticks boldly give out, that the Cauſe is their own: Indeed, if there are any ſuch Clergy-men as your Lordſhip deſcribes, whoſe *Swearing* and *Praying* is contrary to their *Practice*, I hope the Numbers are but few, and that your Lordſhip, and the reſt of our Right Reverend Prelates will make a ſtrict Enquiry after ſuch Men in your reſpective Dioceſes, and by your Advice and Example decreaſe the Number.

I have now gone through all I at firſt intended, and aſſure your Lordſhip, that what I have done is neither upon Account of the Perſon which occaſioned your Lordſhip's Speech, or in the leaſt to create any Controverſy; but as Mr. *Hoadly* has obſerved, 'Men of your Lordſhip's 'diſtinguiſhing Character beat a great ſway in the World, and the Stamp of your Authority 'makes the Populace readily believe whatever comes from ſuch Pens'; and to find your Lordſhip ſuch a ſtrenuous Defender in your former Writings, of that Doctrine which you oppoſe in your Speech, created in me no ſmall Admiration; and whether your Lordſhip will be pleaſed to give any Reaſons for ſuch an Alteration of your Opinion, I wholly ſubmit to your Lordſhip's Judgment, and do aſſure your Lordſhip, that my belief of the Doctrine you formerly aſſerted, was the only Reaſon of my Addreſſing to your Lordſhip in this manner; in which Opinion I ſhall ever remain, believing with a moſt Reverend Prelate of our Church, *That ſo long as the 13th Chapter of the* Romans *will be allowed a part of the Canonical Scripture, ſo long ſhall I eſteem Obedience to the Supreme Powers a Doctrine of the Goſpel, and the Incumbent Duty of every Chriſtian.*

I ſhall now conclude all in your Lordſhip's own Words, moſt earneſtly deſiring, 'That we 'may Adorn our Holy Profeſſion with Lives ſuitable to it, and that we may ſhow to the World 'that we take not up, or maintain our Religion upon Intereſt, but found it on ſure and un-'moveable Foundations, which being the ſame always, will ever oblige us to the ſame Duties 'and Practices. Let us ſtudy to empty our ſelves of all big ſelf-conceiting Thoughts, of all 'hot and inflamed Paſſions and Appetites, of all unruly and unbounded Deſires, of all Levity 'and unſtayedneſs of Mind; that with humble Hearts, calm Minds, contented Spirits, and 'ſteady Thoughts, every one may follow the Duties of his Station, and behave himſelf 'therein as becomes a Chriſtian, paying inwardly in our very Thoughts that Reverence we 'owe the *Higher Powers*, and offering up to God the conſtant Tribute of our Prayers for them; 'conſidering they are God's Vice-gerents, and by his own Warrant are called Gods; and if '(at any time) the Conduct of Affairs do not ſuit our Wiſhes or Deſires, yet for all that we 'are to truſt to, and depend on God's Providence, not daring once to think of attempting a-'gainſt the Lord's Anointed, nor to engage in Courſes that may bring us to much Miſchief 'and Confuſion; but let us ever ſet before our Eyes the Example of our Bleſſed Saviour, *who 'endured the Croſs, and deſpiſed the Shame; who when he was reviled, reviled not again; and 'when he ſuffered, he threatned not*, but committed himſelf to him that Judgeth Righteouſly: 'And let us alſo conſider that Cloud of Witneſſes that followed him; *that ſo we may run with 'Patience the Race that is ſet before us*, and not look to, or Imitate the later Practices of ſome 'diſtempered and degenerated Chriſtians. Then we ſhall be an Honour to our Profeſſion, and 'give a Credit to that Church wherein we were Born, Baptized and Inſtructed; when we 'ſhew that we are *Subject, not only for Wrath, but for Conſcience-ſake.*

I am,

My Lord,

Your Lordſhip's moſt

Obedient Servant.

POST-

POSTSCRIPT.

THE Lord Biſhop of *Oxford* having already received ſo many Anſwers to his *Speech*, I ſhall not go about to encreaſe the Number of them; neither indeed ſhould I have been any way troubleſome, had none appeared; becauſe his *Lordſhip* ſpeaking to the *ſame* Article, and having ſaid nothing *New* to the *Point*, but purſued the *ſame* Method as my Lord of *Salisbury*, of endeavouring to overthrow the Doctrines of the *Scripture* by *Hiſtorical* Examples, I ſhall only refer the *Reader* to what has been offered to his *Lordſhip*; having, I think, made it pretty plainly appear, that *Paſſive Obedience* has ever been the Doctrine of the Church of *England*, though it ſeems a *reſerved* Limitation, has always been kept in *View* by the more *Political Eccleſiaſticks*, but for ſome *Sarumnian* weighty Reaſons was not thought proper to be divulged, till a *Caſe* equal to the late Proceedings ſhould neceſſarily call for it---- and at laſt for the Univerſal Benefit of Poſterity, the comfortable *DISTINCTION* is now pronounced *in hæc Verba*,

KINGS bear the NAME, but Subjects have the Power.

I ſhall end all, with obſerving the *Extenſive Charity* of the *Moderate* Church-men, who do from the *bottom of their Hearts* believe, that part of the Doctor's *Speech* in which 'He Ap-'peals with the greateſt Solemnity to the *ſeacher of Hearts*, to *witneſs* in the moſt *religious* 'Manner, that *he* had no ſuch *wicked*, *ſeditious* or *malicious Intentions* as were charged upon him, to be nothing more than downright *Prevaricateon*, ſo I hope, my Lord of *Oxford* cannot take it in the leaſt amiſs, if his *Lordſhip* is believed guilty of equally ſinning with the Doctor in that Reſpect, for notwithſtanding his *Lordſhip's* ſincere Appeal to *Almighty* God, that he bears Dr. *Sacheverell* no private *grudge*; 'tis well known that his *Lordſhip* has in ſome Meaſure withdrawn his Friendſhip from him, ever ſince the Character of a *Low Church-man* appeared in the World.

TO THE RIGHT REVEREND THE Ld. Bp. of Lincoln.

My Lord,

IT is not for the ſake of Controverſy that I give your Lordſhip this preſent Trouble, but purely out of Reſpect to the Cauſe which occaſioned your Lordſhip's Speech, and by a careful Examination of it, to repreſent to your Lordſhip, that it was not Dr. *Sacheverell's* intent to reflect upon the *Toleration*, but to rebuke the Abuſe of it; in Proſecution of which, I ſhall endeavour to behave my ſelf with all due Deference to your *L*ordſhip, and at the ſame time treat the Subject with the plain Roundneſs it deſerves.

I muſt freely own in Reading your Lordſhip's Speech, there appeared to me not a little Pains taken in a thorough Examination of the Doctor's Sermon, and the ſeveral Paſſages ſo connected by your *Lordſhip*, as to make his Intentions appear againſt that Side, for which your Lordſhip intended to give Judgment. *Truth*, my Lord, I find, though it doth not work a preſent Cure, ſtings even to the Heart, at the Moment of its Utterance, and the ſame Accuſation of being charged with *Voting contrary to your own Doctrine*, neceſſarily called up your Lordſhip, (as my Lord of *Oxford* terms it,) the juſtice of which Charge I take to be undeniably made out from the Doctor's *Collections*, though my Lord of *Oxford* is pleaſed to ſay, that he could make the ſame Authors ſpeak on the other ſide of the Queſtion; but, I fear, rather than purſue ſo uſeful a Work, his Lordſhip will follow the Example of a late *Right Reverend*

Reverend in another Caſe, and cannot, or will not be at leiſure *to write one ſingle word about it*; and I hope by this time his Lordſhip is convinced of falling into the ſame Error with the Doctor (if he proves it) for that very Paſſage cited by him from Biſhop *Bilſon*, had it been quoted entire would appear on the other ſide of that Queſtion, to which his Lordſhip applies it.

Your Lordſhip has been pleaſed to give us a very full Account of the *Comprehenſion*, occaſioned, it ſeems, from that harſh Title given it by the Doctor of *a Popular Engine to pull down the Church*, I ſhall not in the leaſt, my Lord, go about to juſtify any warm Expreſſion made uſe of by the Doctor, but confine my ſelf wholly to the Merits of the Cauſe.

What deſign might be had in *View* from the *Comprehenſion*, I think has never been fully made out, but no ſober Man can imagine any *ill one* was intended, from ſuch pious and truly Chriſtian Spirits, as Biſhop *Sancroft* and the reſt who promoted that Scheme; but 'tis as plain, my Lord, that they had not the Majority of their Side, and I believe from the ſame Reaſon, which your Lordſhip has given in your late *Sermon*, of the Danger and Miſchief of a miſguided Zeal, where ſpeaking of thoſe Sectaries that began to diſſent from our Church, even in the dawn of its Reformation, your Lordſhip tells us, 'They diſliked ſome things they knew not why; which 'ſoon cauſed a Difference in Opinion to divide our Communion; till at laſt their Zeal broke 'out into a formal *Schiſm*, and never left till it deſtroyed both Church and State; and brought 'upon us that Deluge of Evils which we ſtill feel the ſad Effects of at this Day. And your Lordſhip in * another place fully declares it to be your own Opinion, 'That the *Church of Eng-*'*land* is both in its *Doctrine*, *Government*, *Diſcipline*, and *Worſhip* truly *Apoſtolical*; and in all 'Reſpects comes the neareſt up to the *Primitive Pattern* of any *Chriſtian Church* at this Day in the World.

Thus, my Lord, I hope it will be granted, that I have truly ſtated the Caſe *of the Church of England*, and *thoſe* that *Diſſent* from *her*, from your Lordſhips own Conceſſions, which if allowed, what Reaſon will there appear for the promoting of ſuch a *Comprehenſion*? Your Lordſhip has juſtly drawn the Character of our *Eccleſiaſtical Conſtitution*; and as thoſe Sectaries at firſt divided from us *they knew not why*, ſo would they by the ſame parity of Reaſon do again, were we to part with thoſe (ſuppoſed) Grievances they complain of, a ſufficient Demonſtration of which we have ſeen in their firſt *Diſſention*; and even in thoſe Times when by the Succeſs of their *Rebellion*, they were for a ſmall time uppermoſt, how madly were the Reins of Government both in Church and State guided by them; never were greater Feuds and Animoſities than appear'd among their own Miniſtry, inſomuch that the continual Jarrings between the *Smectymnuan Club*, and the *Aſſembly of Divines*, occaſioned that *witty* and *unparalleled* Character given of 'em by the Poet.

The ſelf-ſame thing, they will abhor,
One way, and long another for,
As if Religion *was intended*
For nothing elſe but to be mended;
And as tho' Divinity *had catched*
The Itch, *on purpoſe to be ſcratched.*

Your Lordſhip proceeds next to ſhow, that this Scheme was firſt ſet on Foot to bring over the more *MODERATE Diſſenters*; give me leave, my Lord, juſt to ſpeak to that Term, by which they have been pleaſed to diſtinguiſh themſelves: The *Moderation* which they ſo much cryed up both then, and continue to do ſtill, was nothing more than to cover ſome ſiniſter Deſigns they had then in view, and we have too much Reaſon to fear they never uſe it but for the ſame *End*; how has their Blood boiled within 'em of late, upon the Proceedings of the Rabble in demoliſhing ſome of their Meeting Houſes? (an Action which no judicious Perſon can or will Vindicate) the Doctor was aſperſed as being the Ring-leader, who I dare be bold to ſay, in the ſight of God, appears as Innocent as your Lordſhip; nay tho' the Government ſhewed their juſt Reſentment at the Proceeding, yet I have heard 'em boaſt of their Number, and threaten the Church Party with being Ten to One, if Matters were brought to a Puſh, tho' at the ſame time forgetting their own *Moderation*, in not only demoliſhing our Churches, but ſhewing their malicious Indignation to the Aſhes of the Dead, by breaking the Mouments, and tearing up the Braſs Inſcriptions from off their Graves, making Stables of the Houſe of the Lord, and excrementally defiling the Place, and Inſtruments uſed in divine Offices; but this, my Lord, they preſently cry was not done by their Approbation, but committed by a giddy, unthinking Multitude; and therefore the Reflection ought not to be charged upon their Community; but how far this will hold, will be ſoon ſeen by the Parallel, their Outrages againſt the Church were performed by *Soldiers* commanded by their *Officers* to put the Actions they committed in Practice, the late ſmall Tumults againſt them, were oppoſed by the ſame Force with which they executed their Deſigns againſt us, and yet ſuch is their Malice, that they, without the leaſt Chriſti-

* The Concluſion of the Preface to the ſecond Edition of the *Apoſtolical Fathers*, Tranſlated and reviſed above by his Lordſhip, *Anno* 1710.

an Charity, according to their wonted *Moderation*, brand the *Church-Party* with being guilty of an Action, for which has been ſhewn the utmoſt Reſentment.

After the *Intention*, your Lordſhip informs us, that the *Deſign* of the *Comprehenſion* was, 'to 'improve, and, if poſſible, to *inforce* our *Diſcipline*, to *review*, and *enlarge* our *Liturgy*; by 'correcting of *ſome Things*, by *adding* of *others*; and leaving out ſome few *Ceremonies* confeſs'd 'to be *indifferent* in their *Natures*, as *indifferent* in *their Uſage*.

Now, my Lord, if the *Church* has theſe Defects (which I muſt own I can't ſee) why ſhould they not be rectified for the Sake of *her* own Members? for I think 'tis a very hard Caſe, that if our *Liturgy* be not ſo compleat as it ought to be, that it muſt not be corrected becauſe the *Diſſenters* will not come into us; and your Lordship cannot but own that they are the worſt Adverſaries of our *Church*; for they neither *believe* her *Faith*, *own* her *Miſſion*, *ſubmit* to her *Diſcipline*, or *comply* with her *Liturgy*; and tho' your Lordship wiſhes this *Scheme* had took effect; (were it ſtill in your Lordship's Power to effect it, and inſtead of *reviſing* and *ſupplying* the complained of Defects of our *Liturgy*, your Lordship was to ſet it quite aſide,) it would not do the Buſineſs, even with the *more Moderate* Diſſenters; it is not ſo much the *Diſcipline* of the *Church* they are uneaſie at, as the Power of the State, which they want again in their own Hands, and then they would uſe it with the ſame *Moderation* with which it was heretofore exerciſed by them. I ſhall conclude my Remark upon this Head, with obſerving, that had your Lordship been in Dr. *Sacheverell*'s Circumſtances, you would have thought it very hard, to have had your Senſe wreſted ſo widely different from what the plain Import of your Words declared. 'Tis plain that the Abuſe of that gracious *Indulgence* or *Toleration*, granted to *Diſſenters*, was all the Doctor intended to rebuke by the following Clauſe in his Sermon ſpeaking of the Diſſenters; 'I would not (*ſays he*) be underſtood as if I intended to caſt the leaſt invidious Reflecti- 'on upon that Indulgence which the Government hath condeſcended to give 'em, which I am 'ſure all thoſe who wiſh well to the Church, are ready to grant to Conſciences truly Scrupu- 'lous, let 'em enjoy it in the *full* Limits the Law has preſcribed. This Paſſage, my Lord, to uſe your own Words, ſeems to me the *moſt proper and lively Method* the Dr. could take to convey his Senſe, that it might not be liable to any Miſconſtruction; ſo far am I of your Lordſhip's Opinion, that he *began to fear* what he had ſaid would be miſapply'd; for which Reaſon he thought fit to explain himſelf as in the recited Paſſage, which I think he has effectually done, even to a Demonſtration, that the Diſſenters Abuſe of that gracious Indulgence granted to 'em, was what he oppoſed, and not that Liberty which is, and as he owns ought to be allowed to *Conſciences truly ſcrupulous*.

Your Lordſhip owns, 'that had you the ſame Opinion of the *Diſſenters* that Dr. *Sacheverell* 'has, you ſhould be ſo far from thinking them fit to be *indulged*, that you ſhould account it your 'Duty, and the *Duty* of every true Friend to our *Church* and *Government*, to take the ſame Me- 'thods of *wholeſome Severities* with them that Queen *Elizabeth* did; from which Conceſſion, my Lord, it plainly appears that your Lordship's Vote againſt the Doctor proceeded wholly by his differing from your Lordship's Opinion of the *Diſſenters*; but this Method of proceeding, my Lord, would be *a pretty hard Reflection upon us*, and not at all conſiſtent with that *Chriſtian Charity* enjoined by our *Church*, to become Enemies to thoſe who differ from our Perſuaſion in Religious Matters: Nay further, if your Lordship allows of the Validity of this Argument, then Dr. *Sacheverell* has not been guilty of the leaſt Crime; for I dare ſay, could he have entertained the ſame eaſy Opinion of the *Diſſenters* with your *Lordſhip*, he had never troubled himſelf about 'em. Upon the whole, my Lord, I ſhould think it hard (and I believe your Lordship would bear me Company) If any Perſon ſhould declare himſelf my Enemy purely becauſe I can't think as he does; I muſt freely confeſs my Thoughts of the *Diſſenters* are the ſame as Dr. *Sacheverell*'s, and I ſhould readily ſubſcribe to your Lordship's Explanation of the Doctor's Sentiments, having ſure Grounds for my Opinion, from their former Practice, to believe 'em 'Enemies to our *Church* and *State*; and ſuch as if not timely ſuppreſſed, will convince us to our Sorrow of the Weakneſs and Folly of taking ſuch *Vipers* into our Boſom, as watch only for a fair Opportunity to *ſting us to Death*.

I am,

My Lord,

With the profoundeſt Reſpect,

Your Lordſhip's

Moſt Obedient

Humble Servant.

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* The Concluſion of the Preface to the ſecond Edition of the Apologetical Epiſtle, Tranſlated to his Lordſhip, Anno 1710.

TO THE RIGHT REVEREND THE Ld. Bp. of Norwich.

My Lord,

I Should not have given your *Lordſhip* the leaſt Interruption, had I not found your *Lordſhip* guilty of accuſing Dr. *Sacheverell* of what was neither done by his Knowledge or Conſent, after having endeavoured to perſuade us of the Mildneſs of your own Natural Temper and Concern for him.

I ſhall not go about to Remark upon what your Lordſhip has urged to prove him guilty of Reflecting upon the *Toleration*, having ſaid all I intended upon that Head to my *Lord* of *Lincoln*, and the Reaſons your *Lordſhip* produces being nothing more than a bare Repetition of what had been delivered by his Lordſhip.

It muſt neceſſarily appear, even to a Perſon of the meaneſt Capacity, that the Doctor was aware of having his Meaning taken wrong, and therefore expreſſed himſelf with the utmoſt Plainneſs, as to the Allowance of the *Toleration* to *Conſciences* truly *ſcrupulous*, and that his Intentions were no other than to ſhew the dangerous Conſequences of the *Diſſenters* Abuſe of that *gracious Indulgence*, by making it an *Aſylum* for all the *Occaſional Villanies* they ſhould think fit to tranſact; but that his Meaning ſhould be miſapply'd after ſo plain an Explanation, is what your *Lordſhip* would think *grievous* to be born, had you been in his Caſe, and not allowed to be the Interpreter of your own Thoughts. Had he not explained himſelf in the Sermon, but brought the Clauſe into his *Anſwer* to the *Articles* of his *Impeachment*, I ſhould then have been of my Lord of *Lincoln*'s Mind, and taken it only as a *Salvo* for what he proceeded too far in aſſerting; but ſince the Caſe is otherwiſe, I think there is very good Reaſon to differ from your Lordſhips; and it cannot but be allowed by your Lordſhips, that the Doctor could not have the leaſt Thought in View of making ſuch uſe of an Explanation of his Meaning, as he has been obliged to, unleſs your *Lordſhips* will carry it ſo far as to believe, that he preached the Sermon on purpoſe to be *Impeached*, and *reſerved* that very Paſſage to come off by.

Were your *Lordſhip* put to a ſtrict Diſcuſſion, I believe it would be with ſome Difficulty to your *Lordſhip* to account for your meaning, where you ſay, 'That you are ready to 'enlarge your Thoughts, for the admitting of any favourable Conſtruction that will not 'ſhut out *Common Senſe*: Now, my *Lord*, the Doctor's Explanation of his Meaning, that he had not the leaſt Intention of reflecting upon the *Uſe*, but the *Abuſe* of the *Toleration*, did not ſtand in need of any favourable Conſtruction, his Words being plainly expreſſive of his Meaning, and wholly agreeable to *Common Senſe*, as far as the direct Import of any Declaration may be ſaid to be, and as ſtrenuous a Defender of Common Senſe as your Lordſhip would ſeem to be, and no other Conſtruction can be put upon his Words, than what they expreſs, without having recourſe to bare *Intendments*, unneceſſary *Implications*, *piecing together broken Sentences*, and *conjoining of diſtant and independent Paſſages*.

'Tis ſurprizing, my Lord, and worthy your Lordſhip's Conſideration, to reflect into what Extremes *Prejudice* and *Partiality* will carry us, if not reſtrained by a prudent Caution; for, barely becauſe Dr. *Sacheverell* has laid it down as a *Maxim*, that *Men of Probity, Conſcience and Courage*, are the only fit Members of the *Church Militant*, your Lordſhip cannot aſſent to it; though I am apt to believe, it would puzzle your Lordſhip rightly to prepare good Members for the Church, without being endued with thoſe Qualifications.

I ſhall now proceed to your Lordſhip's laſt Charge againſt the Doctor, which, as it is directly falſe in every Circumſtance, obliges your *Lordſhip* to ask Pardon of God, and to own the unjuſtneſs of the Aſſertion, in *his* behalf. The Caſe is this; your *Lordſhip* charges *Him* with the Publication of Prayers, deſigned, as your *Lordſhip* ſays, 'With an Intention to re-'preſent, not ſo much to God, as to the World, that he was under Perſecution, when his

'Proſe-

Your LORDSHIP's,

to Command, &c.

FINIS.

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